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formation of the Constitution has already been well discussed, but little has been written about the operation and effect of the Constitution as an international organization. It is doubtful if an elaborate discussion of the procedure followed in adopting the Federal Constitution will be of any use at any meeting of delegates from the states of Europe. Dr. Scott would have done better service if he had said less about the debates and views of the several members, and more about the particular clauses of the Constitution which have had such a beneficial effect in promoting peace among the several states.

Some of the most important clauses of the Federal Constitution in this connection are as follows: Article I, Sections 8, 9, and 10; Article IV, section 2; and the Fourteenth Amendment. It would be difficult indeed to pick out any provisions more important in furthering the peaceful union between the several states of the United States, and yet we have not been able to find a reference to any of them.

Each chapter is preceded by quotations, the relevancy of some of which are open to question. If the inquiry is, as it appears to be, into facts occurring a century ago, the pertinency of recent comments seems doubtful. For instance, preceding the chapter on the Federal Convention, we have, on pages 142 and 143, the instructions of the United States Government to its delegates to the Hague Conference of 1899.

The book suffers from diffuseness, too great emphasis of the obvious, and introduction of the trivial. Thus, on page 147, the learned author, in mentioning the tardiness in the arrival of the delegates to the convention of 1787, says the Virginia delegation arrived "at Philadelphia on time, where they were met by the Pennsylvania delegates *who would have found it difficult to be elsewhere.*" The clause in italics is not only trivial but a plain *non sequitur*, as the Pennsylvania delegates could easily have been elsewhere if business or convenience demanded. On page 153 we find this sentence in reference to the organization of the Constitutional Convention of 1787: "To act in an expeditious and orderly manner and to accomplish the purpose for which it was called, it was necessary to have a system of rules and procedure." The necessity for rules is too obvious to justify such an extended comment. On page 346, in discussing the procedure in an English case referred to, the following statement appears: "This was upon what is called an information in the nature of a *quo warranto.*" This statement raises a doubt whether the writ in question is *quo warranto*, which doubt seems never to have existed in the mind of any lawyer. Whenever a decided case is referred to, the date of the decision is indicated by the cumbersome phrase "Decided in 1859," instead of the usual method of inserting the date in brackets.

We have gathered here a large number of historical precedents, some of them not elsewhere easily accessible. As a compilation, the book is undoubtedly useful, but we fail to find that original thought and keen analysis which might be expected from so great an authority on International Law.

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*The Employment of the Plebiscite in the Determination of Sovereignty.* By Johannes Mattern. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1920. pp. ix, 214.

Mr. Mattern begins his study by examining the so-called popular votes of Greece and Rome, and then gives a discussion of the rudiments of the idea of self-determination in matters of allegiance as shown in the feudal system in France. Like all the other writers on the subject, however, he begins the history of the plebiscite in questions of sovereignty with those of the French Revolution.

In the case of these Revolutionary plebiscites Mr. Mattern has gone to the

only source available, the *archives parlementaires*, as well as to the secondary material. It is to be regretted that in his accounts of the Italian plebiscites of 1848, '59 and '60, the votes in Savoy and Nice, Venetia, Rome, Moldavia and Wallachia, the Danish West Indies, and Norway he has been content with the secondary sources only. The result is certainly that sometimes interesting and valuable information is not presented. In the case of Italy, for instance, there is a wealth of material on the Italian plebiscites in the various publications of official documents by the Italian government and especially in the excellent collection *Le assemblee del risorgimento, atti raccolti etc.* published in 1911. The British Parliamentary Papers and Cavour's letters also yield an enormous amount of information. From these sources may be had the documents containing the actual regulations under which the plebiscites were taken, as well as the official results. The Parliamentary Papers and Cavour's letters also disclose the diplomatic drama behind. From them one learns that it was actually Lord John Russell who in 1859 proposed the method of the ballot for the purpose of unifying northern Italy, a method adopted by Cavour as the best means of forcing Napoleon's hand. The result of these votes was, of course, never in doubt. Nevertheless they were far from "decorative" as Stoerk calls them.

It would also be helpful to have a more detailed account of the actual conditions under which these and the other plebiscites were taken. The method of voting, whether by acclamation, by registers, or by ballot, is a matter of importance, and it lends color to what must needs be a somewhat dull narrative.

Mr. Mattern is the first of the writers on self-determination to include the votes for secession of the Confederate States of America. Of these he gives a careful and interesting account. He is also the first to include the cessions under the treaty of Versailles. In Chapter VI he summarizes the cases of cession with and without the plebiscite, contained in the treaty, and gives an account of the German protests and the Allied answers concerning them.

In discussing the practical aspects of the plebiscite Mr. Mattern concludes that to be of value the vote must be nearly unanimous. In his discussion of the plebiscite in international and constitutional law he points out that the principle of popular sovereignty has come to be recognized almost universally in matters of constitutional law and that it may gradually encroach on the international field. The chief opposition to the plebiscite arises, as he explains, from the fear that the recognition of the right of the inhabitants to be consulted on a question of transfer may imply the recognition of the right of secession and therefore constitute a threat against the safety of the State. He concludes with the statement that if the plebiscite does come to be established in international law, conquest will be rendered unprofitable and plebiscites unnecessary.

Notwithstanding the fact that the doctrine of self-determination has been in existence for over a century there are as yet few books to which one can turn for a history of the theory or of the several plebiscites which have been held. Most of the published material represents the desire of an author to promote or to prevent the taking of a vote in a specific territory. The whole subject has always been as it is now a most contentious one. For this reason this addition to the unbiassed literature is welcome.

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*Government War Contracts.* By John Franklin Crowell. Preliminary Economic Studies of the War, No. 25. Published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. New York, Oxford University Press, 1920. pp. xiv, 357.

Even the most casual reader of this book must be impressed at once with the serious purpose which actuated the author, for no one, not even an economist,